

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USNATO 04450

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O.11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: NATO, XD, XB
SUBJECT: NATO EXPERTS REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN EASTERN
AND SOUTHERN ASIA

REF: USNATO 4381

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1. REFTEL TRANSMITS TEXT OF THE NATO EXPERTS REPORT ON THE
SITUATION IN EASTERN AND SOUTHERN ASIA. THIS CABLE FORWARDS
PROPOSED TALKING POINTS FOR THE AMBASSADOR'S USE WHEN THE
REPORT IS REVIEWED BY THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL ON MAY 10.
ACTION REQUESTED: WE WOULD APPRECIATE BY MAY 9 THE DEPART-
MENT'S COMMENTS ON THE SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS AS WELL AS
APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE AND UPDATED INFORMATION ON THE SEVERAL
INCOMPLETE POINTS FLAGGED IN THE TEXT. WE ALSO WOULD WELCOME
VERY BRIEF COMMENTS ON:

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--THE MAY 2-10 VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO ASIA AND
THE PACIFIC;

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--THE STATUS OF PAROLE PROGRAM FOR INDOCHINESE REFUGEES
AND REFUGEE LEGISLATION, INCLUDING ANY POINTS ON INDOCHI-
NESE REFUGEES WASHINGTON WOULD LIKE US TO MAKE TO THE
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ALLIES AT THIS TIME. (WE USED THE LAST EAST AND SOUTHERN
ASIA EXPERTS REPORT REVIEW FOR THIS PURPOSE AND BELIEVE
DOING SO PROVED WORTHWHILE.)

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--THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN;

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--THE SOVIET-PRC BORDER SITUATION;

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WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE TALKING POINTS PROVIDED BELOW ARE ALREADY EXTENSIVE. HOWEVER, WE WILL ASSURE THAT ALL INFORMATION PROVIDED IS EITHER CIRCULATED OR DRAWN ON IN NATO POLADS IF LACK OF TIME SHOULD PRECLUDE USING IT DURING THE COUNCIL MEETING ITSELF.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT TALKING POINTS:

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--THE REPORT PREPARED IN APRIL BY THE EXPERTS WORKING GROUP ON EASTERN AND SOUTHERN ASIA REFLECTS, I UNDERSTAND, VERY CLOSE AGREEMENT AMONG THE RESPECTIVE NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENTS IN ASIA AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS. LIKE THE REPORT ITSELF, I SHALL FOCUS MY OBSERVATIONS PRIMARILY ON EAST ASIA.

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--PERHAPS THE DEVELOPMENT OF MOST INTEREST TO THOSE OF US AT NATO IS THE CHANGE IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AN OVERWHELMING PREOCCUPATION WITH THE EXPANSION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD DISCUSSED IN PARAS 8-13 OF THE REPORT. BECAUSE OF THIS, CHINA NOW STRONGLY SUPPORTS ORGANIZATIONS THAT PROMOTE REGIONAL COHESION AMONG THE NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS. WE ALL ARE AWARE OF THE CHINESE INTEREST IN A STRONG NATO. THIS IS EVIDENT IN THE PRC'S SUPPORT FOR THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND ASEAN. AS THE REPORT NOTES, CHINA IS ALSO PROMOTING AN ALLIANCE OF THE SECOND

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WORLD WITH THE THIRD WORLD, AND THUS NO LONGER CONDEMNS COOPERATION BETWEEN THE NOW INDEPENDENT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THEIR FORMER METROPOLE POWERS. INSTEAD IT APPLAUDS SUCH COOPERATION.

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--I WOULD NOTE IN CHINA'S STRONG INTEREST, AS MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 13, IN CLOSE TIES WITH JAPAN. CHINA IS TRYING TO MOVE JAPAN TOWARDS AN ANTI-SOVIET POSITION THROUGH ACCEPTANCE OF THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN THE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY NOW BEING NEGOTIATED. WE NOTE WITH INTEREST SIGNS ON BOTH SIDES OF INTEREST IN IMPROVING SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. DURING THE MAY 3 FUKUDA VISIT TO WASHINGTON (DEPARTMENT PLEASE PROVIDE)

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--CHINA ALSO APPEARS DESIROUS OF BROADENING RELATIONS WITH THE US EVEN WHILE INSISTING ON THE THREE BASIC CONDITIONS IN REGARD TO TAIWAN BEFORE ACCEPTING FULL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON. AS YOU KNOW, MR. BRZEZINSKI WILL VISIT PEKING MAY 20-23 FOR MEETINGS WITH CHINESE LEADERS, BEFORE GOING ON TO TOKYO AND SEOUL. IT IS NOT A NEGOTIATING TRIP ON THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND PEKING. MR. BRZEZINSKI WILL REVIEW MATTERS

OF COMMON STRATEGIC CONCERN. (WASHINGTON PLEASE PROVIDE
UPDATED MATERIAL.)

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--THE OUTLINE OF THIS FOREIGN POLICY, BASED ON THE HARD
ANTI-SOVIET STANCE INHERITED FROM MAO TSE-TUNG, APPEARS TO
US TO HAVE THE SUPPORT OF ALL ELEMENTS OF CHINA'S PRESENT
LEADERSHIP.

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--WHILE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA ARE NOT AT THE MOMENT AREAS OF
HIGH PRIORITY FOR THE USSR, I BELIEVE THAT WE MUST EXPECT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USNATO 04450

THE SOVIETS, WITH THEIR USUAL ASSERTIVENESS AND OPPORTUNISM
TO WORK TO INCREASE GREATLY THEIR OWN ROLE IN THIS AREA.
IN PARAS 35-37 THE EXPERTS NOTED WITH SPECIAL INTEREST THE
CONFLICT BETWEEN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA WHICH HAS ENCOURAGED
THE GROWTH OF TIES BETWEEN VIETNAM AND THE SOVIET UNION.
MOSCOW, WHICH CONTINUES TO BE GENEROUS IN ITS AID TO HANOI,
CLEARLY HOPES TO FORGE A QUASI-ALLIANCE WITH VIETNAM WHICH
WILL WORRY THE CHINESE WITH A STRATEGIC THREAT TO ITS
SOUTH AS WELL AS ITS NORTH. WHILE WE EXPECT THAT THE
SOVIETS WILL CULTIVATE THE WARY ASEAN STATES, THEIR MAJOR
OPPORTUNITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IS CLEARLY WITH VIETNAM.

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--THE PROSPECTS FOR SETTLEMENT BY NEGOTIATION OF THE
VIETNAM-CAMBODIA CONFLICT DO NOT APPEAR GOOD. THE CAMBO-
DIANS APPARENTLY BELIEVE--WHICH WE DO ALSO--THAT THE
ULTIMATE AIM OF HANOI IS TO FORCE THE SAME SORT OF
"SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" ON CAMBODIA THAT VIETNAM HAS WITH
LAOS. BECAUSE OF THE COSTS AND FRUSTRATION OF THE PROLONGED
BORDER WAR WITH CAMBODIA, VIETNAM MAY BE CONSIDERING DRASTIC
ACTION TO REPLACE THE POL POT REGIME WITH ONE AMENABLE TO
DIRECTION FROM HANOI. HANOI, HOWEVER, MUST ALSO CONSIDER

THE REACTION OF CHINA--CAMBODIA'S STRONG SUPPORTER--JUST AS CHINA MUST CONSIDER WHETHER STRONG REACTION BY IT TO ANY MAJOR VIETNAMESE ACTION AGAINST CAMBODIA WILL FURTHER DRIVE HANOI TOWARDS THE SOVIETS.

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--IN OUR VIEW, WE SHOULD FOLLOW THE SITUATION CAREFULLY SINCE DEVELOPMENTS THERE MAY HAVE STRATEGIC CONSEQUENCES WHICH NEITHER WE NOR THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES INVOLVED CAN NOW FORETELL. WHILE VIETNAM WILL NOT BE A SOVIET TOOL, CLOSER TIES BETWEEN THEM WILL POINT INEVITABLY AGAINST CHINA AND WILL GREATLY CHANGE THE SITUATION IN EAST ASIA.

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--I SHOULD NOTE THAT THE LATEST INFORMATION ON THE VIETNAMESE-CAMBODIAN BORDER CONFLICT INDICATES... (PLEASE PROVIDE SHORT UPDATE BASED ON LATEST INTELLIGENCE)

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--THE REPORT OBSERVES IN PARAGRAPH 7 THAT THE GOAL OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP OF BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY MODERNIZATION DEPENDS ON THE PROCUREMENT OF HEAVY AMOUNTS OF FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT. WHILE MY GOVERNMENT SYMPATHIZES WITH THE CHINESE DESIRE FOR MODERNIZATION OF ITS ECONOMY AND IMPROVEMENT IN ITS DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY, WE BELIEVE THE STANDARDS FOR SALE OF MILITARY RELATED TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT SHOULD BE THOSE NOW MAINTAINED BY COCOM. WE WOULD WELCOME EARLY CONSULTATION HOWEVER, ON SPECIFIC CASES IN WHICH OUR NATO ALLIES ARE APPROACHED BY THE CHINESE FOR TECHNOLOGY OR EQUIPMENT WHICH WOULD REQUIRE EXCEPTIONS. WE FEEL THAT NATO COUNTRIES SHOULD NEITHER BOW TO SOVIET PRESSURE AGAINST PROPER SALES TO CHINA, NOR GIVE CHINA SUCH FAVORED TREATMENT THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE LEGITIMATE GROUNDS FOR CONCERN OVER WESTERN EFFORTS TO ARM CHINA OFFENSIVELY AGAINST THE USSR. (APPRECIATE APPROPRIATE REVISION OF THIS PARA.)

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--I WISH TO COMMENT ON TWO POINTS ON JAPAN RAISED IN THE REPORT.

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--THE FIRST IS THE IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE US, EEC AND JAPAN ON MEASURES TO COPE WITH COMMON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT JAPAN TAKE THE STEPS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE ITS GROWTH TARGETS AND TO OPEN ITS OWN MARKETS FURTHER TO FOREIGN

PRODUCTS. IT IS EQUALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE WESTERN NATIONS--WHO HAVE SUCH A STAKE IN THE SUCCESS OF SUCH A GREAT DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC POWER AS JAPAN--NOT UNDERTAKE UNDUE PROTECTIONIST MEASURES OR UNILATERAL MOVES AGAINST JAPAN.

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--THE SECOND POINT CONCERNS THE WELCOME GROWTH OF PUBLIC SUPPORT IN JAPAN FOR DEFENCE MEASURES, IRONICALLY IN PART BECAUSE OF CHINA'S VOCAL APPROVAL NOW FOR THE US-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY AND THE SELF DEFENSE FORCES, WHICH HAS UNDERCUT THE TRADITIONAL LEFTIST OPPOSITION. THIS OF COURSE DOES NOT MEAN THE PUBLIC NOW FAVORS JAPANESE MILITARY ACTIVITY OUTSIDE ITS OWN TERRITORIES OR WATERS. IT WILL MEAN AN INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE JAPANESE DEFENSE EFFORT OF MUCH IMPORTANCE TO US IN NORTHEAST ASIA.

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--FINALLY, I WISH TO COMMENT BRIEFLY ON THE US COMMITMENT TO KOREA NOTED IN PARAGRAPH 30 OF THIS REPORT. WHILE WE INTEND OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS TO REMOVE OUR GROUND TROOPS FROM THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, OUR COMMITMENT TO SOUTH KOREA'S DEFENSE REMAINS FULLY INTACT AND IS BACKED BY OUR STRONG AIR AND NAVAL FORCES IN AND NEAR KOREA. WE WILL MANAGE THE GROUND COMBAT FORCE WITHDRAWALS IN A PRUDENT FASHION AND HELP BUILD UP SOUTH KOREA'S CAPABILITIES IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT THERE IS NO WEAKENING OF ITS DEFENSES. BOTH SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA CLEARLY REMAIN CONVINCED OF THE AMERICAN GUARANTEE. IN CLOSE CONSULTATION

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WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD LONG RANGE STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, AND HOPE TO ENCOURAGE BOTH CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION TO ACCEPT AN APPROPRIATE FORMULA FOR CROSS

RECOGNITION OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS IN KOREA.

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--LAST, I WOULD NOTE THAT THE US INTENDS TO MAINTAIN A
STRONG AND DIVERSIFIED MILITARY PRESENCE AND AN ACTIVE
DIPLOMACY IN THE ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION. WE REMAIN FULLY
COMMITTED TO THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF THE AREA.
END TEXT. BENNETT

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